DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 126 390 CG 010 679

AUTHOR	Cohen, Monroe D., Ed.; Martin, Lucy P., Ed.
TITLE	Growing Free: Ways to Help Children Overcome Sex Role Stereotypes.
INSTITUTION	Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	76
NOTE	36p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Association for Childhood Education International, 3615 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016 (HC $1.00, plus $0.10 postage and handling, check or money order must accompany order)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Childhood; Curriculum; Educational Theories; Elementary Education; Females; *Resource Guides; *Schools; *Sex Discrimination; *Sex Role; *Sex Stereotypes; Social Discrimination; *Socialization

ABSTRACT

This publication put out by the Association for Childhood Education International contains articles dealing with ways to help children overcome sex-role stereotypes. The articles deal with both theoretical and practical issues around the topic of how children acquire sex-stereotypic concepts and what possibilities exist for changing them. The articles are addressed primarily to the teacher. Also included are: "Idea Spark-ers" which present ways of exploring sex-role stereotyping in the classroom; non-sexist resources for teachers, parents and students; and a review of sex bias in children's books. (NG)

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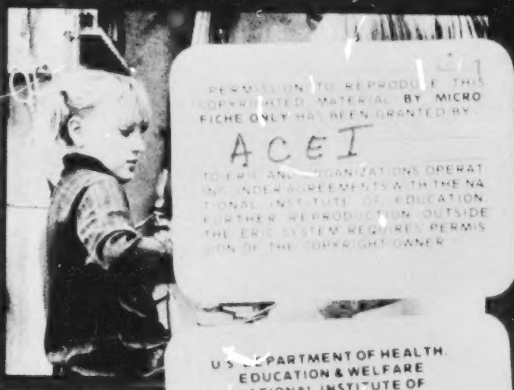

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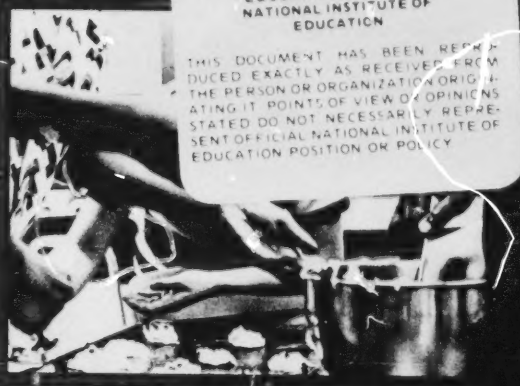

Growing Free

Ways To Help Children Overcome Sex-Role Stereotypes

Association for Childhood Education International
3615 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
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1974-76 Biennial Bulletin Order
ISBN 0-87173-003-2

Acknowledgments

The articles in the February 1976 issue of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, on which this reprint-publication is based, have particular relevance to the *1974-77 ACEI Plan of Action*. Specifically, Section B of Action Area II ("To Value the Dignity of Children") suggests that "ACEI members and affiliated groups can

Develop children's potential without role-stereotyping by

Encouraging the unique development of each child

Fostering healthy self-concepts and sex roles

Seeking to eliminate restrictions placed upon children because of sex, race or cultural background

Providing children with opportunities to broaden their repertoires of skills and activities

Accepting the dignity of all kinds of work."

Many persons helped in the development of the content that follows. Our especial thanks go to Shirley D. McCune, Program Coordinator, and Martha Matthews, Project Coordinator, of the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education (A Project of the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education), Washington, D.C.

For overall guidance and support, thanks to Alberta L. Meyer, Executive Secretary of the Association for Childhood Education International; to Annie L. Butler, former ACEI President (1973-75); and to Oralie McAfee, Chairperson (1975-77) of the ACEI Publications Committee.

We also wish to express our gratitude to Patricia Maloney Markun, former ACEI Editorial Associate for Bulletins; to Arvonne S. Fraser, Women's Equity Action League; to Marlene Ross, Consultant in Early Childhood Education, Kensington, Maryland; to Jeanne Walton, Regional Training Specialist, Day Care/Child Development, Head Start Regional Resources and Training Center, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland; to Betty Halpern, California State College at Sonoma, Sonoma, California; to Harriet K. Cuffaro, Graduate Faculty, Bank Street College of Education, New York City; and to Minnie Perrin Berson, Director of Early Childhood Programs, College of Education, Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois.

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*Paging is retained from the February 1976 issue of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, in which these articles originally appeared

Building Positive Futures:

Toward a Nonsexist Education for All Children

Photos by Bruce Reedy, Washington, D.C.

"We suggest that societies have the option of minimizing, rather than maximizing, sex differences through their socialization practices . . . in our view, social institutions and social practices are not merely reflections of the biologically inevitable."
Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin (1974)

Shirley D. McCune is Program Coordinator and Martha Matthews is Project Coordinator of the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education (A Project of the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education), Washington, D.C.

Shirley D. McCune and Martha Matthews

"SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING," "sexism" and "sex discrimination"—we have all heard these terms increasingly in recent years. They refer to critical educational problems we are moving to alleviate in our classrooms. But many of us still find ourselves uncertain as to what these terms mean and unsure of what they imply for our professional and personal lives.

Even as we may work to insure that our young children, male and female, are active in both the block and doll corners or that our middle-schoolers engage in both woodshop and cooking experiences, we hesitate in the face of troubling questions: "Where did this sex-role problem come from—is it part of women's liberation?" "When we change a child's sex roles, aren't we threatening his or her sexual identity and orientation?" "Aren't we questioning traditional values, which are a parent's prerogative to maintain?" "What are the implications for schools and for educational change?"

How we respond to such concerns will be shaped by some of our most basic perceptions, values and experiences. In this article and those that follow, we seek to examine these questions and to provide suggestions that may assist in meaningful response.

SOURCES OF CONCERN ABOUT SEX ROLES

In the past decade criticism has been mounting with regard to the quality and relevance of the experiences our schools have provided children in preparing them for their adult roles. Two primary forces have stimulated this criticism. First, we have come to recognize and to reevaluate limitations placed on individuals by virtue of their race, ethnic group or social class. Second, as the rate of change in our society constantly accelerates, we are taking a new look at the relationship between this societal change and our educational institutions. Often we find ourselves caught between pressures for maintaining the past and for anticipating the future.

Both of these forces are reflected in the current concern with sex roles in education. In defining sources and manifestations of inequality, we have come to recognize sex as one basis for "sorting" children and for providing differential opportunities. As we become aware of changes in the roles of women and men, we see that such sorting on the basis of sex limits the optimal growth of *all* children.

Since the turn of the century, industrial and technological development has produced major transformations in the nature of work and paid employment. Statistical data document the following significant changes in the life patterns of women since 1900:[1]

Women from every age group, marital and parental status are entering the labor force in increasing numbers; 90 percent of females now in high school will work at some point in their lives.

Women are having fewer children; the proportion of a woman's adult life devoted to childbearing and childrearing is therefore decreasing.

More women are becoming heads of families; growing numbers are assuming full responsibility for care and support of children.

The percentage of women living alone or with persons unrelated to them is steadily growing; women between the ages of fourteen and thirty-four or over sixty-five comprise significant proportions of this group.

As the roles and lives of women have changed, so have those of men. With women's increased entry into the labor force, many men have assumed new responsibilities in maintaining home and family. Males and

females are obviously having to relate differently to one another, both at work and in the home.

None of us is unaffected by these changes; they shape not only our lives but also the future lives of our children.

DEFINING THE ISSUES

Let us look now at some data on relationships between traditional sex-role differentiation and actual sex differences.

Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin recently completed a comprehensive analysis of over two thousand books and articles relating to possible psychological differences between males and females.[2] From their review, they concluded that a number of traditional beliefs about nonreproductive sex differences are myths, some are supported by research evidence, and others remain inadequately tested. Some of these conclusions are summarized below:

MYTHS:

1. *That girls are more "social" than boys.* (Fact: Both are equally interested in social stimuli and rewards and equally adept at understanding the emotional reactions of others.)
2. *That girls are more suggestible than boys.*
3. *That girls have lower self-esteem than boys.* (Fact: Boys and girls are similar in overall self-confidence through adolescence. Girls rate themselves higher in confidence regarding social competence; boys more often see themselves as strong and powerful.)
4. *That girls lack the motivation to achieve.* (Fact: Although boys' achievement motivation appears to be more responsive than girls' to competitive arousal, there are no sex differences on the level of achievement motivation in general.)
5. *That the sexes differ in learning processes.* (Fact: Females and males are equally proficient on simple and high-level learning tasks.)
6. *That boys are more "analytic" than girls.*

ACTUAL DIFFERENCES:

1. *Males are more aggressive than females* (boys are more aggressive physically and verbally).
2. *Girls have greater verbal ability than boys.*
3. *Boys excel in visual-spatial ability.*
4. *Boys excel in mathematical ability.*

(Note: These ability differences usually do not first appear in early childhood but have their onset at adolescence and increase through the high school years.)

Obviously, these data do not support many common assumptions about differences between males and females. Several important points emerge. In those areas where sex differences do exist, we find considerable overlap in the distribution; for example, many boys have low-level visual-spatial skills and many girls demonstrate high levels of visual-spatial ability. Moreover, we cannot easily classify sex differential behavior as being either innate or learned. One sex may have a greater biological readiness to *learn* certain behaviors, or boys and girls may adapt themselves through learning to social stereotypes that have some biological basis. Further, it is probable that children learn sex-typed behavior through identifying with others of the same sex and through adopting sex-typed behaviors consistent with developing concepts of "masculinity or femininity."[3]

Considering the implications of their findings for social and educational changes, Maccoby and Jacklin write:

> We suggest that societies have the option of minimizing, rather than maximizing, sex differences through their socialization practices. . . . In our view, social institutions and social practices are not merely reflections of the biologically inevitable. A variety of social institutions are viable within the framework set by biology. It is up to human beings to select those that foster the lifestyles they most value.[4]

SEX DIFFERENCES AND SEX-ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Additional research indicates, however, that our socialization practices maximize sex dif-

ferences. Girls and boys are channeled into sex-typed behaviors and sex-differentiated roles that do not reflect the diversity of their individual abilities and the complexity of roles society requires of them. Although we must allow for differences across and within various cultural groups, we can draw some general conclusions:

Sex-role behaviors are "among children's first learnings."[5] In most cultures, behaviors considered desirable for boys include aggressiveness, suppression of emotion, well-developed reasoning ability and sexual initiative; for girls, passivity, dependence, conformity, nurturance and the inhibition of aggression.[6]

By the time children reach preschool, they know their sex and the play preferences, behavior patterns and expectations adults hold for that sex.[7]

As children grow older, their sex roles become more stereotyped and restrictive;[8] they tend to select fewer categories of behavior as sex appropriate and to indicate more polarized ratings of sex appropriateness.[9]

Children of both sexes tend to see the male role as the more desirable one; male activities are accordingly given higher visibility and status.[10]

Acceptance of traditional sex-role identity is related to positive psychological adjustment for males and poor adjustment for females. Boys who identify with masculine roles show better psychological adjustment than do girls who identify with feminine roles. Females who display high IQ, creativity and originality are usually those who internalize cross-sex behavior; often they have exhibited tomboy behavior at some point in their lives.[11]

In our society, as children learn their biological identity and reproductive roles as females and males, they also learn that other roles open to them are influenced thereby. We need therefore to examine outcomes of our traditional sex-role socialization patterns and to reevaluate the restrictions and limitations they impose.

EDUCATION AND SEX-ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Recent data published by the National Assessment of Educational Progress indicate male-female differences in educational achievement that cannot be satisfactorily explained by our current understanding of basic sex differences in ability.

Results from NAEP assessments in eight learning areas show that males generally do better than females in four major subjects: mathematics, science, social studies and citizenship.

In the four other learning areas females consistently outperform males to any large degree in only one (writing); maintain a slight advantage in one (music); and in the remaining two subjects (reading and literature) are above male achievement levels at age 9, then drop to lag behind males by the young adult ages 26-35.[12]

Although the superior performance of males on the mathematics section of the Assessment is consistent with the differences in mathematical ability reported by Maccoby and Jacklin, it is difficult to attribute the performance deficits of females on non-mathematical portions of the Assessment to their superior verbal abilities. More plausibly, many of these differences in performance may be the result of sex-differentiated patterns of educational socialization that perpetuate traditional male and female stereotypes.

We can also see effects of sex-role stereotyping in academic and career aspirations. Although girls average better grades in high school, they are less likely to believe that they have the ability to do college work.[13] Indeed, for the brightest high school graduates who do not go on to college, 75-90 percent are women.[14] Decline in career commitment has also been found in girls of high school age, related possibly to their belief that male classmates disapprove of a woman's using her intelligence.[15]

These sex differences in scholastic achievement, in college entrance and in career commitment suggest that females are not being adequately prepared to function optimally in the work roles that are increasingly theirs. Such data call forth important questions: Are we assisting our pupils to develop fully their unique abilities and interests, or are we channeling them into prescribed roles on the basis of sex? Are we providing the educational experiences necessary to promote the total development of both girls and boys and to insure that they will be equipped to function successfuly not only in traditional reproductive roles but also in changing roles as workers, family members and individuals?

EDUCATION AND THE PERPETUATION OF TRADITIONAL SEX ROLES

Faced with such questions, we move on to explore four major ways schools function to transmit traditional sex roles and maintain stereotyped role expectations and behaviors.

1. Physical Environment of the School

Environmental sex segregation (e.g., a preschool classroom with doll corner at one end and block area at the other or a secondary school with separate entrances and corridors for boys and girls) discourages both sexes from exploring the full range of options available to them.

Symbols placed within the schools may also communicate differential expectations. Corridor displays of athletic trophies of males and clothing made by females reinforce stereotyped notions of sex-appropriate behaviors. School bulletin boards and classroom pictures frequently exclude images of women or portray both sexes in stereotyped and limited roles.

2. School Curriculum

Examples of sex-role stereotyping recur throughout the learning activities and materials that prescribe children's learnings:

In textbooks. Instructional materials often indoctrinate children in socially prescribed behaviors. Particularly for a young reader, these materials frame the child's range of experience and define the reality of his or her world.[16] Studies of the images of females and males in textbooks and other instructional materials used from preschool through college document both the relative omission of girls and women and the assignment of both sexes to stereotyped or limited life-roles. Females, when they appear, tend to be portrayed as passive and defined primarily by their relationships with males. They are usually seen at home, functioning in nurturant or supportive roles; when shown outside the home, they consistently assume traditional female roles of nurse, teacher, sales clerk or secretary. Boys and men tend to be depicted in different but also limiting stereotypes. Seldom do we see them expressing emotions or in nurturant roles; almost universally they are declared to be competent, achieving or career-oriented.[17]

In career and vocational education. The interest patterns, abilities and values that determine career goals begin to develop early. Materials and activities used to help children gain images of the nature of work and of the roles of adults in the community seldom present boys and girls with the range of options available to them. As children move up in educational level, materials and activities employed in formal career education programs are similarly stereotyped; so are those in most programs in vocational education.[18]

Through instructional groupings and course assignments. In both the preschool and the elementary school classroom, teach-

ers frequently form instructional or classroom activity groups on the basis of sex. Although we may be able to justify some predominantly single-sex groupings on the basis of ability or skill levels, to categorize children solely in terms of gender demonstrates expectations that may function as self-fulfilling prophecies and limit the exposure of both girls and boys to unfamiliar subjects or activities.

Through physical education and competitive sports. Recent research suggests that development of physical, intellectual and social skills is inextricably related.[19] Although we should be encouraging all individuals to develop healthy bodies and body images and the commitment and skills for their maintenance, our physical education and athletic programs from preschool through college operate to minimize the importance of physical development for females. Such programs become increasingly sex-differentiated as students progress through school, and opportunities for females in competitive athletics become more and more restricted. As the emphasis on competition increases, greater and greater proportions of males are also excluded.[20]

Through counseling and guidance services. At the preschool and elementary school levels, our counseling and guidance services function primarily to help us identify and handle pupil behavioral or emotional problems. While the aggressive behavior of young boys is frequently treated as a counseling concern, we find relatively little attention is paid to excessive passivity in young girls.

At the middle and secondary school levels, counseling and guidance focus increasingly upon course selection and career planning. Stereotypical assumptions regarding sex-appropriate academic and career roles, as reflected both in the counseling process and in counseling instruments and materials, shape many choices.[21]

3. Structure and Organization of the School

In defining the parameters for provision of services, curricular and extracurricular programs, our school administrative practices and structures often transmit sex-role stereotypes. Policies influencing selection of instructional materials and course-content or those mandating different graduation requirements for males and females often reinforce stereotypes that limit options.

Allocation of staff roles is another source of sex-role stereotyping. In elementary schools, 83 percent of the instructional staff are females, yet women comprise only 14 percent of all elementary principals. At the secondary level, these figures are 49 percent and 2 percent respectively.[22] The relative scarcity of men in preschool and elementary classrooms and of women in administrative positions clearly transmits traditional sex-role expectations to children.

4. Behavior of School Personnel

The attitudes and behavior of adults working in the schools (bus driver, custodian, teacher, principal, counselor, instructional aide, school volunteer) provide children with critical messages about how they are valued, what they can become, and what roles are envisioned for them by society. Research indicates that both counselors and teachers hold sex-differentiated expectations for girls and boys, women and men; further, that they may behave in ways that shape and reinforce pupils for conformity with these expectations.[23] Differential interactions of teachers with males and females in every category of teaching behavior has been clearly documented.[24]

Current Progress

What can we do to change these patterns? The beginnings of change have taken many forms and come from a variety of sources.

At least one school district (Berkeley, California) has supported a project for multiethnic nonsexist education which—through materials development, teacher training, and curriculum implementation in grades 4-6—aims to provide boys and girls from various racial-ethnic groups with opportunities and reinforcement to explore nontraditional emotional, physical, interpersonal and career roles.[25] Many other school districts have provided inservice training to help teachers identify and develop skills for alleviating sex-role stereotyping in schools.[26]

Especial attention has been given to modifying curriculum and instructional methodology. Selma Greenberg and Lucy Peck of Hofstra University have developed a "Basic Human Needs Curriculum" for preschoolers. It is designed to help children (1) to understand that all human beings—regardless of sex, race or class—share basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, love and affection, health and recreation, and sense of community; (2) to respect the diversity of vocations organized to satisfy these needs; and (3) to aspire to full participation in the adult world of work and leisure.[27]

Contributing to the change process for more equal and meaningful education for both sexes are (1) community groups that increase public awareness; (2) teachers who implement change in their classrooms; (3) administrators who provide supportive policies, programs and training opportunities; (4) professional associations that provide training or publications support; and (5) publishers, women's groups, teachers and students who develop curriculum and supplementary materials.[28,29]

But despite such significant beginnings, we have much yet to do to assure full sexual equality in the United States. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 provides a comprehensive federal prohibition of sex discrimination in education. State legislatures (in such states as Massachusetts and Washington) have enacted similar laws. Such legislation can do much to increase public and educator awareness of the problem. We must all work to contribute to the development and support of meaningful efforts for its solution.

Goals and Actions for Future Growth

One good way to move toward effective nonsexist education is by evaluating our own schools and classrooms. As previously noted, our conclusions and responses will be shaped by our individual perceptions, experiences and values. Review several of the following educational goals and change-strategies to determine which may be most appropriate to your own situation and priorities.

Goal 1: The school's physical environment should be organized to encourage all children to explore the range of learning opportunities available and to provide symbols that affirm the contributions, values and potentials of females and males of all racial, ethnic and social class groups.

Action steps:

Examine your school and its classrooms to determine whether children are segregated by sex in activity areas, desk or work areas, storage areas for personal belongings, and recreation areas.

Examine bulletin boards, classroom exhibits, hall displays and office decorations for their:

- inclusion of males and females from all racial, ethnic and social class groups
- portrayal of males and females in both traditional and nontraditional roles in family, home, school, workplace and community.

Talk over your findings with pupils, teachers and administrators; determine steps each of you can take to accomplish necessary changes.

Goal 2: The school curriculum should prepare boys and girls for the full range of intellectual, economic, psychological, physical and social roles required for their healthy functioning as adults. It should not only transmit past experience and knowledge but also anticipate future needs—expanding rather than limiting the range of options available to all.

Action steps:

Review your textbooks and other instructional materials.

Are males and females from all racial, ethnic and social class groups included?

Are male and females portrayed in both nontraditional and traditional roles in family, home, school, workplace and society?

Are the unique experiences, roles, histories and contributions of racial-ethnic minorities and women reflected?

How will these materials affect self-images and aspirations?

Discuss your findings with pupils. Encourage them to develop critical evaluation skills that can help them to identify stereotypes or bias in materials.

Obtain supplementary materials that can be used to correct omissions or inaccuracies you identify. Involve pupils and teachers in creating such materials.

Review career education materials and vocational education programs. Do they reflect a full range of options for male and female students of every racial-ethnic group and social class?

Discuss with your pupils the range of options available to them and the relationships between themselves, their work, their families and their leisure activities.

Obtain supplementary materials that portray a diversity of career options for males and females. Expose all pupils to both traditional and nontraditional role models.

Review your vocational education programs. Are all courses open equally to males and females?

Review your counseling programs. Do they:

- reflect an awareness of behavioral and emotional problems experienced by both girls and boys?
- encourage all to explore the full range of academic and career options available to them?
- utilize instruments and materials that are free from sex-differentiation and bias?

Discuss your conclusions with counselors, teachers and administrators. Develop program goals and practices that can assist you in meeting the needs you identify.

Consider your assignment of classroom activities or classroom groupings. Are they made on the basis of sex?

Review your physical education and athletics programs.

Are both boys and girls permitted and encouraged to participate in all activities and sports?

Do athletic programs accommodate the interests and abilities of both sexes?

Review your total curriculum. Does it deal with both affective and cognitive needs? Do you feel it prepares both sexes for economic, psychological, physical and social roles and functioning?

Discuss your conclusions with pupils, parents and school personnel. Develop plans to begin modifications you find necessary.

Goal 3: Administrative policies and practices and the structural organization of the school should define the parameters of nonsexist education and support the development of programs for its achievement. Allocation of staff roles within the institution should model nonsexist practices and criteria.

Action steps:

Review student policies and practices of your institution. Do they differentiate between boys and girls in disciplinary, behavioral or dress requirements?

Review the staffing profile of your school or district. Do you see sex-stereotyping in the assignment of administrative positions? Classroom positions at the various educational levels from preschool through secondary? Classified staff positions?

Obtain a copy of the regulation promulgated by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments. Review the policies and practices of your school or district together with the federal requirements for nondiscrimination on the basis of sex in educational programs.

Goal 4: All school personnel should be able to respect and affirm the dignity and worth of all children, regardless of sex, racial-ethnic group or social class. School personnel should function to support and reinforce the development of children based on their potentials, values and abilities rather than on preconceived role-expectations.

Action steps:

Examine your own assumptions and values regarding appropriate roles and behaviors of females and males.

Read three articles pertaining to sex-role stereotyping in schools and society.

Consider the ways your own sex-role assumptions and values influence your classroom or school behavior and shape the behavior and experiences of your pupils.

Review values clarification techniques and apply them in your school or classroom to explore with boys and girls their unique values and potentials.

Nonsexist education is quality education. Working toward its achievement provides each of us with opportunities not only for personal growth, but also for contributing to the reform of our schools and for developing a society in which every child and adult is freer to achieve his or her full potential.

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Reinventing Sex Roles
in the Early Childhood Setting

Patrick C. Lee

HUMAN CULTURES, our own included, invent ways of thinking about human beings. When traditional cultural inventions become outmoded through the introduction of new technology or new knowledge, then it is important that we reinvent other ways of thinking.

Before getting to the topic of sex roles as indicated in the title, let us consider the notion of "early childhood" as a cultural invention. Not too long ago many teachers of young children viewed them as social-emotional beings without any significant intellectual resources or needs. After more than fifteen years of prodding by Piaget and other cognitive psychologists, however, practically all of us have given intellectual development a central place in our conception of young children. We still view them as persons who are resolving emotional conflicts, gaining control over their impulses and reconciling their desires with those of adult and peer-group society. But we also see them as using a powerful intelligence as a way to master these developmental tasks and as engaging in a profound intellectual search for meaning in their world. Without realizing it, we have reinvented our concept of childhood.

Similarly, sex role is a cultural invention, a way of thinking about biological males and females — and one that is under increasing pressure to change, for very simple reasons. Variations in the structure of the family, the technologies of contraception and of the household, and new priorities in the job market have radically transformed the life experience of the average American woman to the point where the traditional sex role is fragmenting under the strain. And although the corresponding conflict for males is not as evident, cracks are surely appearing in the facade of the traditional male sex role as well.

If, indeed, our customary way of distinguishing between the sexes is no longer appropriate, then we should seriously consider the prospect of reinventing sex role. Those of us who work with young children have a particular responsibility in this respect, because it is doubtful that yesterday's version of sex role can assist today's children in the task of building a sane social order for tomorrow.

What can we childhood educators do to reinvent sex role in more positive and human directions? There is no simple answer to this question; but any answer at all depends on our ability to comprehend precisely what sex role means, on our sensitivity to the ways schools transmit it, and on our own ingenuity in reconstructing schools and our own professional functioning so they foster more adaptive versions of it.

SEX ROLE AS A CULTURAL INVENTION

The first step in the reconstruction of sex role is to recognize that as a cultural invention it is not a fundamental human characteristic. Several benefits accrue from this way of thinking. *It helps us to distinguish between sex role and the biology of sex.* Whether one is male or female is a biological matter, which has very little to do with

"masculinity" or "femininity" as they have been created by our culture. We have no compelling biological justifications for the broad range of sex-role differences our culture imposes on children. On the contrary, considerable evidence attests that boys and girls are more alike than different despite the divergent sex-role indoctrinations to which they are exposed. Moreover, crosscultural studies have revealed that human beings, despite sharing a common sexual biology, have invented an uncommon variety of sex roles.

Another advantage to the notion of sex role as a cultural invention is that *it distinguishes between sex role and human personality.* We tend to think of sex role as somehow being intrinsic to the child, as a basic dimension of his or her personality. As children grow up, they do gradually internalize sex-role identities. But long before sex role becomes a part of human personality, it exists *external* to the children as a set of cultural prescriptions. Growing boys and girls become differentially receptive to these prescriptions in response to differential adult expectations. Thus boys, for example, tend to develop mechanical skills and to be independent and assertive because we expect these actions from them. But if we were to expect the same of girls, they would soon manifest similar behaviors and interests. Not all girls would meet the new expectations, but then neither do all boys meet them now. Nevertheless, we can easily envisage that, if sex-linked expectations were reversed or randomly distributed, boys and girls would be quite different from what they are today.

Finally, this view separates sex role from the realm of superstition and mystery. Sex role has no mystical status in the panoply of human inventions. As a cultural invention, it has value only as long as it remains functional. When it no longer functions as intended, when in fact it has become dysfunctional in certain important respects, then we need to replace the old invention with a new one. As mentioned above, we have replaced our old way of thinking about childhood precisely because it no longer corresponded with what we knew about children. Similarly, traditional notions of sex role are no longer in harmony with important social, technological and economic directions taken by our society. For this entirely pragmatic reason many of us are asking for a newly invented version of sex role.

Removing sex role from the realms of biology, personality and superstition frees us from fixed ways of thinking about the matter and enables us to place it in somewhat better perspective. This new perspective also holds benefits for children. With the constraints of sex role lifted, children can be appreciated more as individuals and less as representatives of one sex or the other. Children whose sex role development is atypical need not be classified as "deviant." With the stigma of deviance removed, new worlds of experience can be opened to children, which they and society would otherwise close. Participation in experiences traditionally reserved for the opposite sex would no longer be viewed as indicative of early abnormality, but as a reaching out for cultural enrichment.

Obviously, schools and teachers cannot hope to induce all these changes alone. But we can examine the particular means we use to transmit sex role and then reconstruct those means so they have a liberating rather than a constraining influence on children.

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HOW SCHOOLS TRANSMIT SEX ROLE

Two primary ways early childhood centers transmit traditional versions of sex role to children are through creation of sex-segregated activity areas and through pupil-role expectations of teachers. The small amount of published research done on nursery school settings yields no surprises. Boys frequent the block corner more than girls do, show more positive affect there, and engage in more constructive play. Girls, on the other hand, are found more often in the doll and art areas, where their play is more relevant, constructive and cooperative than boys' play and where their affect is more positive (Shure, 1963). This early sex-typing of activity areas may be viewed as the precursor to subsequent labeling of some school subjects as feminine (e.g., English, art, etc.), while others are seen as more appropriate for boys (e.g., mathematics, physical education, etc.). Sharp demarcation usually continues through secondary school, particularly in vocational courses, and even into college where programs in engineering and home economics, for example, tend to segregate according to sex. Of course, early childhood educators are not accountable for what happens in schools for older children and adolescents; but we must assume responsibility for the ways our own settings foster sex-role stereotyping.

As regards pupil-role expectations, it is well known that teachers prefer school children who are well behaved and easily controlled. What is less widely recognized, however, is that these expectations are apparently active even at the nursery school level. Two studies done by Jackson and Wolfson (1968) and La Belle and Rust (1975) found that nursery school teachers are very much concerned with controlling children's behavior and that the primary purpose of their control is to socialize children in the rules of the classroom. Thus, teachers project an ideal "pupil role," which requires that children be conforming, docile, passive and manageable. Interestingly enough, this behavioral profile bears a striking resemblance to the traditional female sex role. In fact, a third study found that nursery school teachers overwhelmingly reinforced female-typed behavior in children of both sexes, thus indicating the close correspondence between preferred pupil behaviors and those associated with the standard female sex role (Fagot and Patterson, 1969).

This interaction between sex role and pupil role has different implications for girls and boys. As girls accommodate to pupil role, they reinforce their accommodation to the traditional female sex role. Moreover, the ease with which girls appear to adopt pupil role conditions them to learning styles that are essentially receptive rather than active. Boys, on the other hand, typically experience a role conflict between society's expectation that they be masculine and the school's requirement that they be well-behaved pupils. Thus, schooling tends to be a stressful and alienating experience for boys.

All the available evidence indicates that boys do, indeed, have greater difficulty in adjusting to school. From the earliest grades upward, boys receive more punishment, are more often referred to extra classroom specialists, are disproportionately represented in special educational programs, and are more frequently expelled from school (Lee and Kedar, 1976).

In summary, we can fairly conclude that the school's insistence on pupil role coaxes young girls into the female sex role and pushes young boys into exaggerated versions of the male sex role.

REINVENTING SEX ROLE

Early childhood educators could help in several ways to reinvent sex role in more liberating directions. First, we could devise new ways of distributing classroom space and materials so as to break up patterns of *de facto* sex segregation. For example, we could combine the housekeeping and block areas, thereby eliminating the necessity for boys and girls to pass into alien territory in order to participate in activities traditionally associated with the opposite sex. We should not expect, however, that such recombinations will be immediately successful. Patience and vigilant fine tuning will be required to ensure acceptable outcomes. Our guiding principle should be that space and materials be distributed so as to provide *equal access* for children of both sexes. Depending on classroom layout and educational philosophy, this principle would be applied in different ways in different settings. Thus we have no standard recipe to follow, but much will depend on the commitment and imagination of the individual teacher.

Even after redesigning the classroom, however, we cannot afford to let things take care of themselves. On the contrary, it is extremely important that we project *expectations* in accord with the equal access principle. This action means two things. First, we should expect that children will use a full range of materials and pursue activities regardless of sex-role barriers. Thus, children who are already engaged in atypical activities would have no reason to think that they are doing anything "abnormal." Also, children who are inhibited about crossing sex-role boundaries would be encouraged to do so by our expectations. Second, we should modify our expectations regarding pupil role so that boys and girls have equal access to it. As matters currently stand, boys have too little access to pupil role and girls have too much access to it. This unequal access has the inadvertent effect of reinforcing the standard male and female sex roles. But changing pupil role is no easy task, and only a few tentative suggestions can be made toward this end.

It may be helpful to confront directly the whole business of control in the classroom. In doing so, we should attempt to distinguish between arbitrary controls and those absolutely essential to maintenance of social order. We can assist one another in this task by observing and recording each other's controlling behaviors. Then we can survey our listed controls and force ourselves to justify each one. Those not easily justified should be discarded gradually in successive steps, almost like a weight reduction program. One does not lose all excess weight in one day; similarly, we would not drop all superfluous controls in one day but would phase them out gradually and securely according to a predesigned schedule. This approach would have the ultimate effect of liberating pupil role so that young boys may find it more congenial and would have less cause for "masculine" protest. Moreover, those girls who are now too comfortably ensconced in pupil role would begin to feel personally challenged by schooling rather than lulled by it into premature acceptance of a dysfunctional female sex role.

In addition to liberating pupil role, we might also consider liberating our own

teacher role. Much of the recent publicity given to the need for more male teachers at the early childhood level suggests that the typical female teacher feels men can do certain things that she cannot. The small amount of research on this matter indicates that male teachers are more effective models for boys, as female teachers are for girls (e.g., Madsen, 1968; Friedman and Bowers, 1971), but we are still left with a strikingly small number of qualified male teachers according to a recent survey, which estimated that less than two percent of teachers at grades three and below are male (NEA, 1972). This recognition of the need for a "male" influence in the classroom, coupled with the relative unavailability of adult males to provide it, leads to an inescapable conclusion: female teachers have to provide it, and not only for boys but for girls as well.

Essentially, then, female teachers have to develop their capacity for androgynous behavior (as should the few male teachers available to young children). To do so involves no magical transformation of character, nor does it have to wait upon months of consciousness-raising. All it means, quite concretely, is that the female teacher get into the kind of things stereotypically associated with males, like playing with worms and toads, having a tolerance for messes, tinkering with mechanical devices, enjoying gross motor games and sports; and she should dress accordingly. She does not have to be particularly adept at these activities—that will probably come with time; all she has to do is do them. By thus transforming her teacher role, she would become a more effective model for boys and a more challenging and liberating model for girls. She would, in other words, effectively transform the nature of pupil role and, by doing so, help to reinvent sex role.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

In the preceding paragraph the teacher's capacity for "androgynous" behavior was mentioned. There are many definitions for this term; but basically it means that one's sex is not the primary determinant of one's behavior, values or aspirations. It does not mean "unisex"; nor does it mean that females should adopt the traditional male sex role; nor does it imply that biological sex is never a factor in human behavior or personality. It simply means that people are free to be and do whatever their bodies, aptitudes and interests allow and that biological sex is not a basis for assigning value to human beings.

Whether we be teacher or child, female or male, all of us have much to gain by this reinventing of sex roles in the early childhood setting.

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Teachers, Be (a) Ware of Sex-Stereotyping

Barbara Simmons

SINCE 1776 a revolution has occurred in American attitudes toward children and their education. Sexism, so very evident in the double standards practiced by colonists, is gradually beginning to disappear from school programs designed for older children. But a need clearly persists to restructure the early experiences of young children so as to eliminate sex-role stereotyping.

Classroom procedures that perpetuate sexism should be analyzed by teachers and paraprofessionals. Often we are unaware of the subtle, unconscious influences we have on children's self-concepts and interpersonal relationships as they are now and may become in the future. In many cases four-year-olds bring sexist behavior to school with them, causing preschool teachers to be confronted with the problem of changing these views in order to give children the freedom to dream that they can be what they want to be without restricting their aspirations to traditional sex roles.

The following are a baker's dozen of suggestions for ways to move toward a nonsexist curriculum.

Hammering and Housekeeping

Provide learning centers that give children the opportunity to select activities that interest them. Strive to eliminate any stigma that may be felt by girls as they build, or boys as they sweep or cook. When demonstrating methods for sawing wood, hammering nails, setting the table and dusting furniture, encourage both boys and girls to participate.

Divide the responsibility of maintaining a clean classroom among all the children. Distribute your requests for assistance equally and randomly to members of both sexes (say, "I need two big, strong children to help me carry this plank" — not, "two big, strong boys").

Facing the Music

Use music and dramatic play as opportunities for children to see themselves in new roles. Avoid subtle distinctions whereby girls are asked to play the quiet, small instruments such as sticks, sand blocks and triangles, while boys play loud "aggressive" instruments such as drums and cymbals. When you encourage the children to respond rhythmically to music, allow everyone to be elephants, monsters and motorcycles. Girls don't always have to be butterflies, birds, fairies and angels. Similarly, in dra-

Here are concrete ways to implement a nonsexist curriculum.

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—VME Smith, Washington, D.C.

matic play, Big Billy Goat Gruff need not always be delegated to a boy. Girls can easily be trolls, giants, ogres and even the Big Bad Wolf. Use puppets to give shy children security while they verbally experiment with new roles.

A combination dramatic play or make-believe corner can be equipped with hollow blocks, boards, boxes and a set of props so that children can create any setting—house, store, hospital, laundromat, subway, farm, restaurant, etc. Include a stethoscope, mail bag, briefcase, clothes and hats of various types.*

What Parents Do

When talking with children about homes and families, ask, "What do your parents do?" or very possibly, "What does your parent do?" instead of the stock, "What does your Daddy do?" As more women in our society pursue careers outside the home, hopefully men will share a larger portion of the responsibility for rearing children. Conceivably, a revised role of father may need as much emphasis as the traditional role of mother has received for years. Dolls or sewing cards in the make-believe corner should no longer be reserved for girls.

For boys who have never seen their fathers in the kitchen, it might be profitable for the female teacher to invite a male teacher or principal to present a cooking activity. When fathers and mothers are themselves tapped directly as classroom resources, the information they share can be helpful; but the real reward is observing the child's delight when a parent serves as teacher.

In view of the decreasing number of children who are part of a traditional nuclear family complete with mother, father and several siblings, conduct discussions that encompass and show acceptance of a variety of lifestyles.

Curious Careers

Ask professionals who are engaged in occupations unusual for their sex to visit your school. Children would benefit from meeting and questioning a male nurse, a female doctor, a male telephone operator, a female engineer, a policewoman. Use role-playing

* Thanks for this suggestion, and others that appear in this article, go to Jeanne Walton, Regional Training Specialist, Day Care/Child Development, Head Start Regional Resource and Training Center, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, and to Marlene Ross, Early Childhood Consultant, Kensington, Maryland.

to enhance and enrich children's understanding of information gained from these interviews.

Fair Tales

Screen carefully stories you select for telling or reading to children. Consult the "Growing Free" resource-bibliography in this issue for lists of desirable books that depict both sexes in a positive light. Picture books and poetry written for young children have been critically examined by researchers and consistently found to show boys in the more exciting and challenging roles; girls, on the other hand, are often shown to be passively demonstrating the supposedly feminine characteristics of docility, obedience and domestic achievement.[1] When you encounter conspicuously sexist stories in your classroom, explain your reactions to children. Even the youngest child can comprehend fairness and equal opportunity.

Important precaution: recognize that not every book on a list labeled "nonsexist" is necessarily qualitative literature. Move beyond labels; be alert to dangers of self-defeating censorship. The goal is to provide children a fair-minded multidimensional view of life, avoiding polarization and prejudice.

In the past, the few token women selected as subjects for biographies were often seen engaged in sex-typed occupations or married to politicians. Recently publishers have begun to provide better models, as in stories of heroines of the suffrage movement and of other women leaders of often overlooked times in history.

TV Tantrums

Analyze television programs for sex-stereotyping. The impact of *Sesame Street* is hard to measure, but the fact that so many of the lead characters are male certainly cannot positively influence the self-esteem of young females. Enough sexism is perpetrated by the television shows and commercials children view at home.

—VME Smith, Washington, D.C.

Toys and Taboos

Select play materials that extend children's options. Some parents seldom buy scientific, mathematic or manipulative toys for girls, selecting instead toys that require solitary, passive play and are overwhelmingly oriented toward domestic development.[2] Girls should not have progress in math and science retarded because they have been deprived of resources that might assist them in developing manipulative and problem-solving skills. (Mothers and female teachers should beware of such statements as, "I was always weak in math" or, "Boys are better in arithmetic.") Verbal skills do not belong solely to girls, nor are scientific abilities inherited only by boys.

Re-drawing the Lines

When organizing the classroom, avoid separating children into a "boys' line" and a "girls' line"—except perhaps for going to the restrooms. If lines are necessary, have children line up according to the color of their shoes, height or initials. ("Children with buckle shoes get your coats, then children with tie shoes"—*not* "Ladies first!")

—Bruce Reedy, Washington, D.C.

Playing the Game

Plan a balanced physical education program that is suitable for all children. Avoid segregating outdoor play by sex. Activities utilizing the balance beam increase coordination; both coordination and strength can result from running, skipping, jumping and playing ball. Help both sexes experience the pride that accompanies physical prowess; provide equal opportunities and expectations.[3]

The very attire worn to school may determine the degree of participation in action sports. Little girls who wear frilly dresses are much less likely to run, jump and tumble—as are boys who wear new clothes their parents warn them not to dirty. Spend time complimenting children's achievements rather than emphasizing clothes and appearance. Certainly in this day of permanent press and magic cleaning potions we have no reason for allowing clothes to inhibit children's actions.

When you discuss famous athletes, remind children of the expertise of Gail Pierson and Billie Jean King as well as the more commonly touted masculine sports celebrities.

Toeing the Mark

Be alert to sex-typing when teacher-pupil interactions are observed.[4] Collaborate with colleagues by observing, analyzing and discussing each other's interactions with children to be sure that verbal transactions, physical reinforcements and discipline are fairly distributed, regardless of sex. Discipline of boys, when compared to that of girls, tends to be harsher; avoid admonishments like "Be tough" or "Big boys don't cry." The unfairness of such tactics is multiplied when we reward the quiet, conforming behavior of many girls by ignoring them.

Male Call

If there is a male teacher in your school or center, remember he should be helping to break down stereotypes, not to perpetuate them. Is he the "fix-it-man"? Is he in charge of the workbench? Is it his job to take the active boys outside to work off steam? Is he relieved of messy cleanup tasks and bathroom supervision? Is he preparing to become principal or director because "men are so much better at managing"?

"Can We Do More?"

In sum, we teachers and parents need to sharpen our sensitivity to sex-role stereotyping because we know that the experiences of young children can provide men and women of the future either a foundation for unfair discriminations or a basis for mutual respect. If most of the suggestions here seem "old hat" to you, well and good. Our aim has not been to give marching orders of "Do this, do that" but to acknowledge credit for doing helpful things and to suggest with a gentle nudge, "Have we noticed . . . can we do more?"

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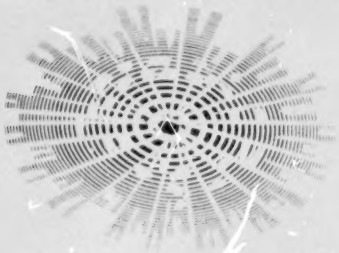
Idea Spark-ers



Dormalee H. Lindberg

Sissy! Bully! Nigger! Honky! Fraidy-cat! Culturally deprived . . . The handicapped . . . The Beautiful People.

"Stereotype . . . conforming to a fixed or general pattern and lacking individual distinguishing marks or qualities; *esp*: a standardized mental picture held in common by members of a group and representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude, or uncritical judgment (as of a person, a race, an issue, or an event) (p. 2238, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, unabridged, © 1971 by Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., Chicago).

Whether with language of the street and playground or with terms coined by educators, newsmen or the general public, however gracious or flattering the term, stereotyping involves the placing of unique human beings into neat little compartments with quickly recognized although perhaps undefined labels. What *exactly* is a "sissy"? Can a female be a sissy, or are *all* females sissies just by virtue of being female? Does sissy imply homosexuality, or is it a derogative term more akin to "fraidy-cat" if the name-caller is referring to a male? Some families have lovingly referred to a young female member as "sissie" without implying distaste, certainly; in such circumstances it is considered loving, not a venomous epithet. Any little boy who hears playmates chant "Sissy, sissy!" on the playground, however, has no doubt that he has been insulted.

A label easily identified as derisive may yet defy definition, the nuances of its meaning being tied to the setting for its use. Just so are many of the terms we have to use to label people, to "put them in their place." Because of the potential harm in labeling, we as teachers must become particularly sensitive to that stereotyping which we sometimes do automatically as part of our work (*slow-learner, academically slow, gifted, trouble-maker, high-achiever, overachiever, underachiever, emotionally disturbed*) and that which we hardly recognize as stereotyping (Boys don't cry . . . Sit quietly now, remember, you're a little lady . . . Boys don't play with dolls . . . Girls don't play football . . . I need a strong man to carry my books). How many natural talents have we discouraged with just such statements? How many girls aren't scientists or mathematicians because we unconsciously just assumed that those were male provinces? How many boys never reach out for embroidery or knitting because they aren't invited to participate in "girls' activities"?

Then, after we have put our own houses in order by becoming sensitive to stereotyping, we must plan activities that help children learn to identify and cope with stereotyping. Following are some activities you might want to try in your classroom.

OPEN A CAN OF WORMS — Face problems head-on. Help children come to terms with the stereotyping that happens every day. Cut a number of brown construction paper worms. On these write situations, then fold the worms and place them in a decorated can. At a classroom discussion, have a child open the can of worms and draw one out, read the discussion starter on that worm, and then lead the class in starting a discussion on that subject. Some of your worms might read: "Kip is the smallest boy in his room. He gets along pretty well, seeming not to mind it that the kids call him 'Shorty.' Do you suppose it bothers him? Is that a kind nickname? How would you feel if people called *you* 'Shorty'?" . . . "There was a fight on the playground. Dennis tripped Bill. Kevin hit Dennis, and then it just seemed that everyone was hitting everyone else. One of the teachers said, 'That class is always fighting. Those are the roughest kids in school.' Do you suppose they were *always* fighting? Do you suppose all the rough kids in that school were in that class? Why do you suppose that remark was made? How does a class get a reputation? What kind of reputation do you think your class has? Could it be improved? How?" . . . "Ginny overheard her parents talking. Her mother said to her father, 'I talked to the teacher today. She says Ginny is an underachiever.' About that time the phone rang and Ginny never did hear her folks talking about that again. How do you suppose she felt? What

is an underachiever? How would you feel if you were labeled an underachiever? Would you be able to do anything to change that label?" . . . "Pam has red hair. She hates her bright red hair because the kids tease her so much about it. They tell her redheads have bad tempers, and then tease her until she loses her temper. Do all redheads have bad tempers? What would you do if you were Pam?"

A BIT OF UNDERSTANDING Sometimes children use terms because they've heard them at home, on the street, elsewhere; but they don't really know that the term is hurtful to someone else. With understanding usually comes tolerance, if not acceptance. Study different ethnic groups. Look for their heroes, their music, their unique contributions to society, their foods, their literature. Spend some time playing games, listening to music and stories indigenous to that group; have a tasting party with foods prepared from original recipes. If there are members of the ethnic group in your class, draw on their background of experiences. If not, see if you can find a visitor to share his/her culture with your students. Do all in your power to bring your group to respect that particular ethnic group. As a part of your study, learn what derogatory terms are used to identify that group; talk about what they mean, why they hurt.

NONSENSE LABELS Use creative dramatics to point out the fact that it often isn't the word itself but the way it's used that makes it vicious. Make up some words—words that have no present use or meaning. Determine that some will be good words, things you like to be called; others will be bad names, things that hurt one's feelings. Let children read them out, the listeners determining which ones are good, which bad. Use the words in a scene, attempting to give the sense of the scene through body movement and tone of voice, since the words won't make sense. Through tone of voice convey which words are derogatory labels, which endearments. Take some words that are considered "good," use them to show derision and contempt. *Mother* and *apple pie* are considered right up there with *flag* and *country* in our nation. Could you incorporate those words into a dialogue in such a way that they seem to be undesirable labels?

LABELING ALERT Since political speeches will be getting thicker and thicker during the coming year, they'll make wonderful opportunities for children to detect labels. How do politicians use words to influence people? Do they stereotype people? Is stereotyping always bad? Are there positive stereotypes? Find some. Listen to a politican speaking to a specific ethnic group. Do you hear some positive stereotyping? Listen to a speech and keep a list of all the labels you hear. Look for labeling in advertisements. Collect advertisements from magazines and newspapers. What labeling do you find? Are there appeals to particular groups? Are there implications that all people in certain groups are alike, like the same things? How do advertisers use labels to sell products?

SEXISM ALERT Probably most of the children in your room will have heard at least something about sexism; it won't hurt any child to at least be alert to the sex-stereotyping that happens all around him/her every day. When one speaks of nurses, visions of females appear. "Doctor" conjures up males in white, stethoscope dangling from pocket. With the notable exceptions of Betsy Ross and the Statue of Liberty, people making games and materials for the Bicentennial have been hard-put to find female representation; and some say Betsy Ross was the figment of a storyteller's imagination.

Discuss with your pupils what boys can do and what girls can do—when occupations are open to all on the basis of merit, not of sex. Men can cook and sew; women can climb telephone poles and dig coal. Women can be scientists, men can design clothes; women can become mathematicians, men can become secretaries. Search out the sexism in textbooks, library books, music, magazines, newspapers. Help children, boys and girls, become alert to sexism wherever it occurs. Persons need freedom to be themselves, male or female.

TELL IT LIKE IT WAS! Many people have suffered from stereotyping. People who are "firsts" often suffer—the first woman who became a doctor, the first black person to integrate white schools, the first American Indian to go off the reservation to school, the first Oriental child to go away to school among straight-eyes, the first woman to vote. Children may wish to do some research and present factual material on these brave firsts or may choose to write stories, pretending *they* were the firsts. Perhaps they may wish to "write letters home" describing their experiences.

FACE SORT To help make children become aware that people can be categorized in many ways other than skin color, collect many faces of people. Be sure you have adults and children: people representing several ethnic groups, such as Blacks, Orientals, Spanish, Indian, etc. Collect pictures of happy people, sad people, angry ones, people with no apparent emotion on their faces. Have children sort the faces. Don't give them any guidelines; just ask them to sort them. Some will sort by sex, some by age, some by "color," others by emotion perhaps. Then ask the child to sort them by some other criteria. Keep them sorting, suggesting other ways if the child doesn't come up with a different way from the ways he/she has already done. This is a good visual discrimination activity; it gives an opportunity to speak about emotions, labeling, etc.

I AM THE ME I WAS TO BE Sometimes it's hard for a child to accept him-/herself as he/she is. It's so common to wish for another color hair or eyes, to be shorter or taller, richer, more athletic, more talented, etc. Sometimes we're so busy wanting to be we don't stop to just *be*—to appreciate the people we are. This is a common ailment among children and adults, the "I-wish-I-was" disease. Perhaps we can help children accept themselves as they are if we just talk about the uniqueness of people, the things we like about them. It may do a child a lot of good to learn someone else thinks he/she has beautiful hair or eyes. How differently we look at things once we see them through another's eyes sometimes!

List the good things about you on one side of a sheet of paper, the bad on another. Aren't there more good things than bad? Which good things can you make better? Which bad can you improve? What do others like best about you? Perhaps you could put each child's name on a sheet of paper. Pass these sheets around the room, each child writing something new and good about that person on the sheet. The first few will be easy to write; but as it goes around the room, people will be reading good, positive things about one another and having to think of other good qualities of each person. It will serve as a means of impressing each child with the good things about his/her classmates, pointing out positive aspects of each child. Each will receive a sheet of goodies about him-/herself, thus reinforcing positive self-concepts, as well as reading all sorts of good things about others. After this, if they label one another there's a good chance it will be a good label!

A closing word to fellow teachers: Be sure you don't label some children as less important than others by neglect. Don't neglect to have all children represented in your bulletin boards, in art work, in the songs you sing, etc. Don't make up your bulletin boards of blue-eyed blondes, leaving the impression that they are more photogenic or worthy of illustration than children with dark eyes and hair. How about a fat child or a skinny one once in awhile? How about tall girls and short boys? Don't let your classroom illustrations succumb to hurtful stereotyping. Show you value *all* children. Even though it's easier to type, don't name all your children in your problems Jane Smith and John Jones. Godzilla Rabonifslinskyvybotsky has a right to read her name in a story problem once in awhile, too, teacher! It's a perfectly respectable name; and if the kid has gone to the trouble to learn to pronounce it and write it, who are you to decide it's too difficult for the others to read? I'll bet they'll read that one correctly before they read Wanda Adams or Ned Davis.

Growing Free:
Some Nonsexist Resources for Teachers, Parents and Students

AWARENESS MATERIALS FOR TEACHERS AND PARENTS

Frazier, Nancy, & Myra Sadker. **Sexism in School and Society.** New York: Harper & Row, 1973. Addressed specifically to teachers, this volume documents the failure of schools to provide equal opportunities to girls and boys and provides suggestions for necessary change. It discusses sex-role socialization, the "hidden curriculum" in elementary and secondary schools, the "male" university and approaches to reform. A selected annotated bibliography on the women's movement and sexism in education and a sex-bias questionnaire developed by Myra Sadker are also included. (Reviewed in CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, JAN. 1975, p. 161.)

Gersoni-Stavn, Diane. **Sexism and Youth.** New York: R. R. Bowker, 1974. This anthology provides in one source major analytical essays, personal reminiscences and reflections, community studies, government reports and resource lists. Sections deal with sex-role socialization and with sexism in schools, in books, in children's media and games.

Harrison, Barbara. **Unlearning the Lie: Sexism in Schools.** New York: Liveright, 1973. A personal account of how a group of parents worked to alleviate the sexism in their children's classrooms at the Woodward School in Brooklyn. (Reviewed in CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, Apr./May 1975, p. 331.)

National Education Association. **Combating Discrimination in Schools: Legal Remedies and Guidelines.** Washington, DC.: The Association, 1973. Single copies available at no charge through Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, 1201 16th St., NW, Rm. 804E, Washington, DC 20036. Each major antidiscrimination law or regulation relevant to educators—together with complaint procedures—is discussed. Also provided: a brief checklist for determining racial and sexual discrimination in schools.

Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators (a joint effort of the Council on Interracial Books for Children and the Foundation for Change). **Sexism and Racism in Popular Basal Readers 1964-1976.** New York 10023: The Center, 1841 Broadway. Based upon a 1973 report by the Baltimore Feminist Project, this study examines sample selections from five series of readers widely in use in Baltimore, Maryland, elementary schools and concludes, "The readers fail in general to provide positive self-images for females and racial minorities, and they reflect and reinforce social injustices."

Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, National Foundation for the Improvement of Education. **Research/Action Notes.** Washington, DC 20036: The Foundation, 1201 16th St., NW, Rm. 804E. Designed as a national source of information on federal, state and local efforts to eliminate sexism in elementary and secondary schools, this newsletter is published four-five times a year and is available at no cost to subscribers.

Stacy, Judith; Susan Bereaud & Joan Daniels, eds. **And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education.** New York: Dell, 1974. A general anthology of contemporary essays on sexism in American education. It covers sex-role socialization and sex-role stereotyping in preschools, elementary schools, high schools and universities. There are suggestions for further reading (with an annotated bibliography) and a resource-list.

OTHER MEDIA

Breitbart, Vicki, Eric Breitbart & Alan Jacobs. **Sugar and Spice.** New York 10019: Odeon Films, 1619 Broadway, 1974. This film, produced in cooperation with the Women's Action Alliance, explores ways in which parents, teachers and students are working to eliminate sex-role stereotyping in actual school settings. A study guide is provided with the film.

Golden, Gloria, & Lisa Hunter. **Sex-Role Stereotyping in Schools Film Series.** Berkeley, CA: Far West Laboratory, Media Extension Center, University of California, 1974. Three protocol films, useful for creating awareness of sex-role stereotyping,

include: *Anything They Want To Be*, dealing with sex-role stereotyping in schools in intellectual and career-oriented activities; *Hey, What About Us?*, which portrays sex-role stereotyping in physical education classes, in curriculum and on the playground; *I Is for Important*, which illustrates examples of sex-role stereotyping in teacher attitudes and behavior. *In All Fairness: A Handbook on Sex-Role Bias in Schools* contains transcripts of the films, interpretations and instructional activities relating to them, and a summary of much of the research literature on sex differences.

National Education Association. **Sex-Role Stereotyping EduPak.** Washington, DC 20036: NEA Publication Sales, 1201 16th St., NW, 1973. Designed primarily for use in inservice and preservice training of teachers and in community involvement programs, this multimedia kit contains three filmstrips (*The Labels, The Reinforcement of Sex-Role Stereotyping* and *Cinderella Is Dead*), five cassette tapes and discussion questions, and a variety of print materials relating to sex-role stereotyping and education.

Scholastic Early Childhood Center. **People Who Work** Sound Filmstrips Program (in Beginning Concepts Series). Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632: Scholastic Early Childhood Education, 904 Sylvan Ave. Two units, each consisting of 5 filmstrips; each unit, with records or cassettes, $79.50 (30-day free trial). Freshly presented views of community workers in nontraditional roles—a woman pediatrician, architect, photographer, for example; a male baker, pet store owner, ranger—and more.

Weitzman, Lenore, & Diane Rizzo. **The Images of Males and Females in Elementary School Textbooks.** Washington, DC 20036: Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, 1201 16th St., NW, Rm. 804E. A 40-minute slide show explores the stereotyped portrayal of both females and males and the under-representation of women in six elementary textbook series. Complementing the slide show is *Biased Textbooks*, by Lenore Weitzman and Diane Rizzo (available from the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, $1 prepaid), a comprehensive analysis on images of males and females in elementary school textbooks by race and sex. The second section, "What You Can Do About Biased Textbooks," presents action strategies for teachers, students, administrators and community groups working to eliminate textbook bias.

CURRICULUM MATERIALS FOR USE BY TEACHERS

Bement, Susan, et al. **Women's Studies Programs.** Berkeley, CA 94709: Berkeley Unified School District, 1414 Walnut St. Designed for use by teachers of 4th- to 5th-grade students, this collection of supplementary curriculum materials provides new multicultural models for dealing with sex-role stereotyping in the classroom. The individual curriculum units, which include a series on famous American women in history and literature, are designed to acquaint students with a positive image of the role of women in society as well as to raise questions about the effects of sex-role stereotyping in their own classrooms.

Johnson, Laurie Olsen, ed. **Nonsexist Curricular Materials for Elementary Schools.** Old Westbury, NY 11568: Feminist Press, Box 334, 1974. $5. A packet of nonsexist teaching materials aimed at upper-level elementary readers. The materials are produced in looseleaf format for easy duplication and rearranging. Included are checklists for teachers to evaluate their own behavior and to review instructional materials for bias. There are also materials for the classroom: resource lists; model curriculum units; consciousness-raising and career-aspiration activities for children; annotated, age-graded bibliography lists for students.

Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, National Foundation for the Improvement of Education. **Today's Changing Roles: An Approach to Nonsexist Teaching.** Washington, DC 20036: The Foundation, 1201 16th St., NW, Rm. 804 E. $3 prepaid. Teacher resources with curriculum-related activities are presented for elementary, intermediate and secondary level students. The emphasis is on interdisciplinary studies; activities may be adapted to a broad range of courses. Teachers can use these resources to supplement existing curriculum materials that do not present a realistic view of today's world. Suggested lesson plans are provided; materials are based on a learning-sequence of exploring, understanding and acting.

Shargel, Susan, & Irene Kane. **We Can Change It!** San Francisco, CA 94110: Change for Children, 2588 Mission St., No. 226, 1974. $3. A packet of fifteen photo reproductions, suitable for classroom use, of women of different ages and ethnic

Warm thanks for preparing this resource list are due Shirley D. McCune, Program Coordinator, and Martha Matthews, Project Coordinator, and others on the staff of the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education (A Project of the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education), Washington, D.C.

backgrounds working in nontraditional jobs is included in this action-oriented pamphlet written for teachers and parents. It also contains an annotated bibliography of children's books, identifies common problem situations related to sex-role stereotyping and suggests possible interventions and solutions.

Sprung, Barbara. (Project Director, The Women's Action Alliance Project on Nonsexist Child Development). **Nonsexist Education for Young Children: A Practical Guide**. New York: Citation Press, 1975. $8.25. The goals of this curriculum resource are to present both men and women in the nurturing role; to encourage boys and girls to develop a full range of emotions, and to present a more realistic view of the world to children. One brief chapter deals with psychological and child development theory on sex differences; it is followed by a useful discussion of ways of working with parents to eradicate sexism from their children's lives. Other sections include definitions of nonsexist education and suggestions for making all activities in a preschool classroom interesting and acceptable to *all* the children. There are units on Families, Jobs People Do, The Human Body and Homemaking, and an extensively annotated list of nonsexist resource materials.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR TEACHERS, PARENTS AND STUDENTS

Feminist Resources for Equal Education, P.O. Box 3185, Framingham, MA 01701. Sixteen pictures of women in a wide variety of nonstereotypic roles. Unusual roles are shown (e.g., milkwoman, architect, mechanic), along with the more obvious (letter-carrier, school crossing guard). Cost, approx. $4.

The following materials are available through the Women's Action Alliance, 370 Lexington Ave., New York 10017 (for all, add $1 for shipping):

"Community Careers" (flannel board, multiethnic figures, $5)

"My Family Play People" (cutout figures of black and white family groups, $6)

"Our Community Helpers Play People" (cutout male and female figures in a variety of roles, $6)

"People at Work" (24 black-and-white photos of men and women in largely nonstereotypic jobs, $6)

"Play Scenes Lotto" (photos of girls and boys in active play; $3.50)

"Resource Photos of Men in the Nurturing Role" ($4)

The following groups publish bibliographies of nonsexist books for children (all listings are age graded):

Boulder, Colorado, Branch AAUW, 1056 Columbia Pl., Boulder, CO 80303 (*Books with Options*; $1.50).

Child's Play, 226 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11201 (25¢ plus stamped, self-addressed envelope)

Cornelia Wheildon Task Force on the Socialization of Children, Women's Liberation Center, 2214 Ridge Ave., Evanston, IL 60202

Education Task Forces of Professional Women's Caucus, Westchester and NOW, 424 Pelham Manor Rd., Pelham Manor, NY 10803 (50¢)

Enid Davis, 1050 Newell Rd., Palo Alto, CA 94303 (*The Liberty Cap: A Monthly Guide to Current Nonsexist Children's Books and Resources*; $4 for 6 mos.)

Feminist Book Mart, 162-11 9th Ave., Flushing, NY 11357 (*Girls and Boys Together*; $1)

Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, NY 11568 (1976 catalog available)

Feminists on Children's Media, P.O. Box 4315, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10017 (*Little Miss Muffet Fights Back*; $1)

Lollipop Power, Inc., P.O. Box 1171, Chapel Hill, NC 27514 (*Nonsexist Books for Children*; send stamped, self-addressed envelope)

School Library Journal, Xerox Corp. (Jan. 1972)

Teachers, Parents, Students Store, 642 Grand Ave., St. Paul, MN 55105 (*Learn Me*)

Editor's note:

Articles in this issue on the sex-stereotyping theme have been reprinted collectively under the title, *Growing Free: Overcoming Sex-Role Stereotypes*. The 32-page publication is available at $1 per copy (add 10% for postage and handling charges) from: Association for Childhood Education International, 3615 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20016.

eric/ece

Mary Glockner and Sharon T. Goodman

WHAT SORTS of activities – in and out of the classroom – can help free children from the restricting effects of sex-stereotyping? How can teachers learn to recognize and combat sex bias in books and curriculum materials?

These and other questions related to sex-role stereotyping are explored in many recent ERIC documents. Summarized here are a few documents on the topic selected from those which have been added to the ERIC data base in the past two years.

Papers and Studies Related to Sex-Role Stereotyping

ED 092 254
A STUDY OF PRESCHOOLERS' SPONTANEOUS SOCIAL INTERACTION PATTERNS IN THREE SETTINGS: ALL FEMALE, ALL MALE AND COED. *Selma B. Greenberg & Lucy F. Peck. Pp. 4.*
In this study of sex-role behaviors, perceptions and aspiration levels in three-, four- and five-year-old children, the focus was on social interaction in situations free of adult attention. Six parties were conducted and videotaped in the familiar setting of the preschool classroom. A total of 77 preschoolers attended these parties which were composed of all girls, all boys, or a mixture of both sexes. Data indicated that differential social behavior patterns were exhibited by various groups. Results are discussed in terms of implications for educational strategies.

ED 092 472
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION: REPORT FROM THE COLORADO CONFERENCE ON STEREOTYPING IN EDUCATION. *Sara G. Zimet & Jules Loventhal, eds. Pp. 29.*
Members of 22 organizations (representing various groups) met in March 1974 to discuss stereotyping in education. Among the topics discussed at this conference were sex-role, religious and ethnic group stereotyping in education, curriculum materials, classroom practices and counseling procedures and legal avenues for gaining equal educational opportunities.

ED 094 299
EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL. SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES PROJECT. FINAL REPORT. *Pp. 96.*
This report summarizes one year's efforts to examine sex-role stereotypes in elementary and secondary education. Traditional techniques of literature review were used to collect the data, but the main emphasis of the project was on involving individuals and organizations currently working in this area. The first section of the report outlines the objectives of the total proposal and is offered as a guide for groups who may be developing similar programs.

ED 095 437
WHAT CAN I BE WHEN I GROW UP? *Louise Vetter. Pp. 11.*
This paper explores the research literature for evidence of the number and kinds of career options boys and girls are considering and which careers they consider appropriate for their own sex and/or for anyone. The discussion focuses on the role socialization plays in determining what career options are "appropriate."

ED 097 992
A NEW LOOK AT CHILDREN'S SEXUALITY AND SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION. *O'Neal Weeks. Pp. 10.*
Discusses the gradual changes in society's sex-role attitudes and the implications for children and early childhood education. Suggestions for early childhood educators include: (1) consciousness-raising sessions for preschool staff in which attitudes and feelings about sex-role stereotypes are examined and worked through; (2) parent education programs dealing directly with sex roles to prepare parents to help their children recognize stereotyping role models; (3) curricular materials and books that do not reinforce traditional sex roles; (4) integrated play areas arranged so that all children are free to play in all areas; (5) selective, nontraditional role models for children.

ED 100 491
SEX ROLE AND PUPIL ROLE IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION. *Patrick C. Lee & Gita Kedar. Pp. 25.*
This article postulates that teachers and schools have a demonstrated investment in socializing children to a passive, docile and dependent role, beginning at the preschool level. This "pupil role" corresponds closely to the traditional female sex role and is incongruent with the standard male sex role. Thus, boys experience conflict and stress in school while girls accommodate to the passive learning style associated with pupil role. Long-range implications of these interactions are discussed and brief recommendations offered for teacher training and school reform.

ED 092 919
WHY JANE CAN'T WIN (SEX STEREOTYPING AND CAREER ROLE ASSIGNMENTS IN READING MATERIALS). *Guyneth E. Britton. Pp. 39.*
More than 4,000 stories in 16 current reading series (designed for grades 1-10) were analyzed for the number of times males versus females were presented as the major character, and the numbers and types of career roles assigned to males versus females.

ED 094 439
AN INVESTIGATION OF WHETHER THE STEREOTYPES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE PRESENTED IN TELEVISION COMMERCIALS CAN INFLUENCE A CHILD'S PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF HUSBAND AND WIFE. *Pamela Cheles-Miller. Pp. 13.*
An experiment in which such variables as self-concept and demographic factors affected fourth- and fifth-graders' susceptibility to stereotypes. The fact that some mothers worked outside the home had no measureable effect on their children's acceptance of sex roles presented in commercials.

ED 095 603
THE IMAGE OF THE FEMALE CHILD ON SATURDAY MORNING TELEVISION COMMERCIALS. *Cornell Chulay & Sara Francis. Pp. 13.*
This content analysis of 294 commercials provides evidence that commercials encourage female children to assume traditional feminine roles as the typical wife and mother.

ED 096 611
DANGER: STATE ADOPTED READING TEXTS MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO OUR FUTURE (RACISM AND SEXISM PERPETUATED IN READING SERIES). *Guyneth E. Britton. Pp. 36.*
Provides documentation on the issues of representation, sexism and stereotyping of racial ethnic minorities in 20 different reading series. More than 5,200 stories were analyzed from 244 different reading texts.

ED 101 246
A FATHER'S GUIDE TO PARENT GUIDES: REVIEW AND ASSESSMENT OF THE PATERNAL ROLE AS CONCEIVED IN THE POPULAR LITERATURE. *John D. DeFrain. Pp. 19.*
In the 53 volumes on various aspects of childrearing reviewed in this paper, there was a noticeable lack of discussion about who should bear the direct responsibility for raising children. The author offers his own conclusions on parenting roles.

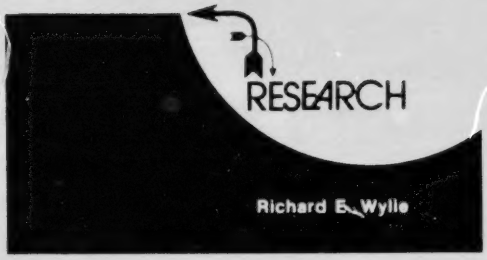
ED 005 379
SEX DIFFERENCES IN READING: THE RELATIONSHIP OF READER CONTENT TO READING ACHIEVEMENT. *Sara Goodman Zimet. Pp. 14.*
In an attempt to uncover the influence of primary reading textbook content on reading achievement, both historical and contemporary reading textbooks were analyzed in terms of sex-role portrayal in a variety of settings.

If you wish to order any of the above items or other ERIC materials, here is purchase information:

Hard copy: 1-25 pages, $1.58; 26-50 pages, $1.95; 51-75 pages, $3.32; 76-100 pages, $4.43. (Add $1.27 for every additional 25 pages or fraction thereof.)

Microfiche: 1-480 pages, $.76 per microfiche (96 pages). Add $.158 for each additional 96-page increment or fraction thereof.

Prices shown do not include postage, which must be added to all orders. Book rate: 18¢ for first pound (one pound is approximately 60 microfiche or 100 hard copy pages); 8¢ per pound increment over first pound. (First class or air mail postage is available at additional cost.) Send order and check to: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, Computer Microfilm International Corp., P.O. Box 190, Arlington, VA 22210.



SEX BIAS IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS

Carol Vukelich, Assistant Professor of Early Childhood Education, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education, University of Delaware, Newark

Charlotte McCarty, Teacher of Early Childhood Education, College of Education, Brisbane, Australia

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SEX PREJUDICE in books written for children is widely recognized. The collected evidence overwhelmingly indicates young women have few but sex-role stereotyped females to identify with in books. Research on sex bias in school textbooks, particularly reading textbooks, reports boy-centered stories outnumber girl-centered stories (McDonald, 1973; Chase, 1972; Beach, 1971; Frasher and Walker, 1972; Weitzman and Rizzo, 1974). Girls typically are depicted as passive, watching, weak, needing help, timid, dependent, incompetent and docile, while boys regularly are shown as active, brave, protective of women, powerful, possessing initiative, competitive, independent, intelligent, creative and industrious (Women on Words and Images, WOW, 1971; Frasher and Walker, 1972; Beach, 1971; Weitzman and Rizzo, 1974). Similarly, adult-role models reinforce the traditional patterns of female/male success; males are shown in the highly paid and prestigious occupations of politician, clergy, judge and athlete, while females are shown in the service occupations of secretary, stewardess, teacher, waitress and mostly homemaker (O'Donnell, 1973; Frasher and Walker, 1972). These findings have resulted in the effort by such companies as McGraw Hill to "eliminate sexist assumptions from (our) publications and to encourage greater freedom for all individuals to pursue their interests and realize their potential (McGraw Hill, 1975, p. 725)." Others (Feminists on Children's Literature, 1971; Weitzman et al., 1972) report similar findings in children's books, even in those books written for young children. These findings lead Mitchell (1973) to suggest that:

> Nevertheless, parents and teachers of young children need to sharpen their awareness of the varied mechanisms of subtle tyranny restricting the healthy development of boys and girls. . . . The deliberate or careless selection of picture books may have an immeasurable and perhaps irreparable impact on the psychological growth of girls and boys (p. 230).

More recently, this same message has been echoed by Tibbetts (1975).

It therefore seems reasonable to investigate what sex biases, if any, are being presented to groups of young children through picture books.

Purpose and Procedures

The purpose of this study was to compare the activities, roles and relative importance assigned to males and females in selected picture books.

The picture books to be evaluated were selected from those identified as "favorite picture books that you use with your groups of children" by twenty-one teachers of young children. Only those books labeled a "favorite" by more than one teacher were included in the study. This procedure resulted in a total of thirty-two books for potential inclusion. Since the purpose of the study was to examine the depiction of sex roles, consideration was limited to those picture books dealing with human beings, or with animals who visually displayed human qualities; accordingly, eight picture books of the potential list were eliminated. Two additional books could not be located in the card catalogs of four searched libraries. Therefore, the writers and an independent examiner analyzed a total of twenty-two stories.

A method of illustration-analysis similar to that employed by the National Organization of Women (and reported by Jacobs and Eaton, 1972) to investigate sexism in children's readers was selected for the study.

Based on the findings of previous research, the following hypotheses were formulated:

(1) The number of picture books with male main characters will outnumber the number of picture books with female main characters.

(2) The number of illustrations of males will outnumber the number of illustrations of females.

(3) Male children will be shown more often than female children in active play, using initiative, displaying independence, solving problems, receiving

recognition, being inventive and giving help, while female children will be shown more often than male children as tearful or helpless, receiving help and in quiet play.

(4) Female adults will be shown more often than male adults giving tenderness, scolding and being homemaker/shopper, while male adults will be shown more often than female adults taking children on outings, teaching, playing with children and being breadwinner/provider.

(5) Male adults will be shown occupying the highly paid and prestigious occupational positions, while female adults will be shown occupying the service positions. In addition, males will hold more varied positions.

Analysis and Discussion of Data

Main characters. Table 1 clearly indicates the majority of favorite picture books analyzed had male main characters.

Table 1
Distribution of Main Characters

	Frequency	Percentage
Male	15	68.2%
Female*	5	22.7
None or Shared	2	9.1
Total Stories	22	100.0%

Males were main characters in three times as many picture books. This finding is consistent with all other research in the sexism in materials written for children area. The difference becomes even more accentuated when the list of favorite books with female main characters is examined. Two of the books, *Snow White* and *Cinderella*, are children's classics. Therefore, only three recently written books for young children with female main characters (of those in our study) have achieved acclaim as favorites of teachers of young children. In addition, one of these three books, *Madeline*, has been criticized because "the life of *Madeline* doesn't resemble our own (Bernstein, 1974)."

Number of illustrations of males and females. Contrary to the hypothesized finding, the number of illustrations of female children outnumbered the number of illustrations of male children, 484/331. However, a brief scrutiny of the data quickly suggests the reason for this unsuspected finding. A number of illustrations of "twelve little girls in two straight lines" in *Madeline* resulted in a total of 326 illustrations of females. Without the *Madeline* tally, the ratio of female children illustrations to male children illustrations was 158/331, or approximately 1/2. Using the adjusted tally, each picture book contained an average of 7.2 female children illustrations and an average of 15 male children illustrations. Again, this finding is consistent with the finding of other researchers.

The ratio of adult female illustrations to adult male illustrations was 121/150. For each sex, one book accounted for 1/4 to 1/3 of the total number of illustrations. *Madeline* had 36 illustrations of female adults, while *Snow White* had 49 male adult illustrations.

Number of times children are shown. Table 2 presents the ratio of percentages of female to male children illustrations in the various categories.

Table 2
Illustrations of Children

Percentage ratio of times children were shown	Female	Male
in active play	15%	85%
using initiative	0	100
displaying independence	33	67
solving problems	50	50
receiving recognition	15	85
being inventive	10	90
tearful or helpless	50	50
giving help	40	60
receiving help	30	70
in quiet play	48	52

As predicted, examination of these ratio percentages reveals the differential treatment of the sexes in the selected children's books. In particular, male children were more often shown as being active, as using initiative, as displaying independence, as receiving recognition, as being inventive, as giving help and as receiving help. With the exception of the last category, receiving help, the direction of the percentage ratios is similar to that reported in other studies (WOW, 1971; NOW, 1972; Beach, 1971) and that hypothesized. Contrary to other reported findings (WOW, 1971; NOW, 1972; Beach, 1971) and the hypothesis, male children were found to engage in quiet play, to be tearful or helpless and to solve problems equally as often as female children.

Another treatment of sex-role difference can be seen in the percentage ratios of number of times female and male children were shown in quiet and active play. This ratio of quiet to active play for female children was 46/54, while for male children the ratio was 14/86. For male children this ratio is consistent with the findings reported by such researchers as Frasher and Walker (1972), while female children were il-

lustrated in more active play than has been previously reported (Frasher and Walker, 1972).

Number of times adults are shown. Table 3 presents the ratio of percentages of female to male adult illustrations in the various categories.

Table 3
ILLUSTRATIONS OF ADULTS

Percentage of ratio of times adults were shown	Female	Male
playing with children	100%	0%
taking children on outings	67	33
teaching	33	67
giving tenderness	75	25
scolding	100	0
being breadwinner/provider	12	88
being homemaker/shopper	100	0

The hypothesized direction of the percentage ratios was found to be not always consistent with the observed direction. As predicted, and consistent with Frasher and Walker (1972), female adults were shown to give tenderness and to scold more often than male adults. They were also the only adults depicted in the role of homemaker/shopper. However, contrary to the predicted direction and Frasher and Walker's 1972 findings, they also were shown to play with children more often and to take children on outings more often. As predicted, male adults were more often shown teaching and in the role of breadwinner/provider.

Adult occupations. Differential treatment of the sexes is much more evident in the assignment of occupations. As predicted, female adults were shown in the service occupations. Besides homemaker, the only occupations depicted were saleswoman and nun. Also as predicted, male adults held more varied and, in some instances, more prestigious positions. They were shown as a storekeeper, gentleman, policeman, soldier, doctor, judge, watchman, tailor and so on. In total, they held eighteen different occupation positions. The only occupational position held by both male and female adults was that of the circus worker.

Conclusions

Professional literature reflects a concern, dating back to 1971, about sex-stereotyping in books written for children. Yet, to date, teachers appear *not* to be evaluating picture books selected for use with their young children for sex bias. The most disconcerting findings are the total subservient image portrayed of female children and the suggestion to young females that males have a wide variety of prestigious occupational roles to choose among, while their choices are limited to the service occupational roles with homemaking being their number one available choice. With society's current concern for equal occupational opportunity for both sexes, this careless selection of picture books might also be restricting young males' consideration of service occupations, including the role of homemaker. The evidence collected strongly indicates a need for more careful screening for this subtle sex-stereotyping tyranny in the picture books selected for use with young children.*

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* For assistance in book selection, write to Feminists on Children's Media, P.O. Box 4315, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10017; request a copy of *Little Miss Muffet Fights Back.*

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